HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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The Secret Michigan Story: There are, in fact, two Michigan stories. The first describes the far from fully disclosed crumbling of Michigan's business structure, under the intolerable burdens of monopoly unionism and the exactions of the socialistic state set up by Governor Soapy Williams, political agent of Walter Reuther; the other tells of the gallant efforts of conservatives to rally on the political level and to change the "system" legislatively.

(1) The story of the business depression in the Wolverine State is far grimmer than most people in the country realize, even more than Michigan people realize—so informed sources in Detroit tell HUMAN EVENTS. The reason for Michigan folks not knowing the facts is a pall of discreet silence enveloping the real picture of the decline of business and its repercussions on the economy.

The facts and figures, it is said, are all in the possession of big banks, business institutions and trade associations, who fear to disclose them. Reason: these interests are tied in with real estate firms and full publication of the ugly picture of what has occurred would presumably have grave results on real estate values in Detroit and other places in the state.

This secret file of statistical evidence on the depth of the Michigan depression, if opened up, would—say news observers in Detroit—prove the biggest story of the year.

● So much for what has happened. As for what is in the way of happening now—that is an even more secret and more lurid tale. HUMAN EVENTS has told the story of how industry has been moving out of Michigan, based on figures through 1956. Now, it is said in Detroit that, in the last two years, the pace has increased. L. L. Colbert, President of Chrysler, once gave forth the following sybilline statement. (*Detroit Free Press*, April 28, 1957): "While many factors influence a manufacturer in locating new plants, taxes are a critical item. If taxes on business in Michigan were to be increased further it would be increasingly difficult for any manufacturer to let other factors which favor Michigan outweigh the taxes when expansion is considered." Since Governor Williams now indicates he will raise taxes, it is not difficult to guess what big business in the Wolverine State is going to do.

Secrecy prevails but many rumors are afloat in Detroit of projected moves of factories to Ohio, Indiana and the Carolinas. Owners of factories vigorously deny any such plans; but it is obvious—to those who know the atmosphere in Michigan—that factory owners have reason to keep very mum about such plans. If the unions get wind of details of such matters, they can cause great expense to the companies, through slowdowns, sabotage, *etc.*—not to mention harassment by the labor-controlled state administration.

(2) Meanwhile, the spring elections for state offices brought the first change—however small—in Michigan's political topography. For the first time since 1955, the Democrats failed to make a clean sweep of state-wide elections. The Republicans won three state-wide partisan contests and made better showings than in recent years in others. Political action by conservatives helped along these situations (not a novelty in Michigan—see story, "It Can Be Done," in HUMAN EVENTS for September 28, 1957).

In one special legislative election, hard work by some 300 volunteer workers from all walks of life cut three percentage points off the previous Democratic margin, although the labor candidate won. More than 150 businessmen worked side-by-side with neighborhood volunteers, including many housewives, to pile up the highest vote total for any April election in recent history. Volunteers made more than 10,000 phone calls in the few days before the polling.

The results dampened laborite spirits; labor union agents had hoped to win a big victory just as Reuther's "march of the unemployed" to Washington occurred. In most cases the Democratic margins were decreased; and Republicans were elected to state-wide office for the first time in years.

Castro Story—Exclusive: Americans on hand to witness the arrival of Cuba's new dictator in the Nation's Capital last week were treated to the full fury of mob rule—Castro style. Castro's arrival was a field day, on American soil, for pro-Communist Cubans, a licking for anti-Communists and native Americans. And, HUMAN EVENTS reporters on the scene discovered, it was achieved with a big assist from US authorities, who turned out in force to make sure that nothing went wrong on Castro's "unofficial" visit. Some of the incidents:

● *Representatives of the Anti-Communist Movement of the Americas had a large group of demonstrators ready to protest against Castro, but were told by Washington National Airport police that only four anti-Fidel pickets could be allowed. By way of contrast, an estimated 1500 pro-Castro demonstrators were allowed to surge about MATS terminal.*

● A group of students from Washington's Georgetown University, who showed up to picket against Castro, were

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herded into a small airport waitingroom, where their signs were visible only through the windows. Pro-Castro pickets—with US State Department officials gazing on benignly—then proceeded to cover up the windows. Castro was subsequently reported as saying that he was "hardly able to see any anti-Castro pickets."

● *Questioned by a* HUMAN EVENTS *reporter, State Department representatives admitted they were working in close harmony with Castro's agents, to hustle identified anti-Castroites off the premises. Caging up the Georgetown pickets in the waitingroom might be unfair, they confessed, but was deemed necessary for "security."*

● Massive police protection was on hand to keep the Cuban butcher from harm—including WNA police, State Department Security, and a cordon of 150 US soldiers from Fort Myer, Va. There was no protection, however, for the ordinary US citizens who made a final attempt to protest Castro's arrival on the roadway outside MATS terminal. As the American pickets lined up there with their signs, they were accosted by a howling mob of Cubans.

They were screamed at, spat upon, and shoved; the signs were ripped from their hands and trampled into the roadbed, amid a torrent of obscenities. No policeman or State Department officer intervened. On American soil, native American opposition to a foreign dictator had been effectively silenced. "Libertad" had come to Washington.

Dulles Out: The inside story of the great anti-appeasement battle of the past six years, waged by retiring Secretary of State Dulles, is that he would presumably have hewed far more closely to a firm anti-Communist line if he had not had to struggle against strong appeasement elements in the Eisenhower Administration. Prominent among the surrenderbund was Harold Stassen, against whom the Secretary had to work continuously. Additionally, there were the members of the "kitchen cabinet" in the White House—among whom reportedly were Paul Hoffman, John J. McCloy (of the Chase Manhattan Bank), Milton Eisenhower and Henry Cabot Lodge.

Various key episodes of history, which are now misinterpreted by commentators but which may one day be debunked, include the bungled, weakly yielding attitude of the US on the Korean peace. In this, insiders say, Dulles had no decisive role, indeed opposed the White House trend. Also, "releashing" Chiang Kai-shek was an example of the White House pulling Dulles back in his plan for a global reversal of Communist power.

Again, Dulles as best he could opposed the holding of the summit conference in Geneva in 1955, but lost out when Milton Eisenhower's influence prevailed. The Suez mess—or rather, the US role in it—is traced back to UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

Dulles, of course, could have resigned in protest against these obstacles; but elements on Capitol Hill and in the Joint Chiefs of Staff urged him to hang on. They felt that, while Dulles was not perfect, he was infinitely better than Stassen or others of his ilk who would have replaced him.

In view of this picture, Dulles' successor will have to exert equal qualities of determination, patience and diplomatic skill if he is to continue the Dulles policy of holding the line against Soviet expansion.

Caribbean Hurricane: US Ambassadors assigned to all the republics in the Caribbean area had a "jam session" last week in El Salvador to consider ways and means of warding off the threat of Communist takeover in that area (see George Schuyler's article, "Where Communists Fear to Tread," in Article Section I of this issue).

Contrary to some news reports, the great majority of the US Ambassadors, now thoroughly worried, pinpointed their alarm on the following questions:

(1) Possibility of pro-Communist forces taking off from Castro's Cuba for invasions of the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Panama.

(2) Concern about the influence of Milton Eisenhower (who long since set himself up as an authority on Latin America) on US policy in the Caribbean, and other parts of Latin America. It is claimed that "Uncle Miltie" is the source of the policy, "down with all dictators, aid to all revolutionaries, however red they may be." It was pointed out at the meeting that Batista, whatever his domestic policies, faithfully followed the lead of the US in anti-Soviet policies; the US, having helped his downfall, now faces a Red regime right on its doorstep.

(3) Concern among the Ambassadors about the policy of Roy Rubottom, Chief of the Division of American Republics in the State Department. One Ambassador complained that "unless the Division has in its hand the Communist party card of a revolutionary, it won't consider him a part of the international Communist conspiracy."

Reds in America: Although statements by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover about gangsterism, kidnappings and juvenile delinquency usually arouse the Nation, when he talks of the threat of communism in the United States his words seem to meet with little response. This fact last week prompted the FBI chief to say that the apathy of many Americans toward the Communist threat was "alarming and shameful."

Hoover's comment followed his revelation that US Reds who attended a Communist party Congress in Moscow earlier this year (made possible by the egregious Supreme Court decision permitting passports to the Kremlin's agents and sympathizers) had received fresh instructions for party activity in America. As a result, he said, "the ring-leaders of communism in the United States were now ready to go into full-scale action." The delegates had been ordered to Moscow to obtain instructions because they were uncertain about the party line.

A new popular front has been ordered, and these American Communists, "joined by duped or unthinking sympathizers, are loudly singing falsetto choruses of let's-be-friendly tunes." Mentioning the danger to national security, the FBI director said that "foremost targets in the new offensive are labor groups and basic industries, including steel, shipping, automobiles and transportation, with particular emphasis on railroads."

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Those on Capitol Hill who know Hoover doubt that the FBI head was merely issuing a routine statement; they believe he knows far more than he says publicly about the growing menace of the Red fifth column, and that his extensive files and mass of investigative information about individuals and groups openly or covertly on the left have prompted him to utter his solemn warning.

Reuther Propaganda: Walter Reuther's act in the Washington Armory, as he led the "unemployed" rally here, was something of a fizzle from the domestic standpoint. But Diplomatic Row thinks that, whether he cared or not, this effort by Reuther and his cohorts has accomplished more for Soviet propaganda on the foreign front than any other event of recent months.

The labor press in this country has provided the wind machines in the Kremlin with priceless material. Thus, the *AFL-CIO News* banner, April 11, ran as follows: "THIS IS HAPPENING IN AMERICA—MISERY, DESPAIR AND WANT." On another page the banner line was: "HEALTH, WELFARE OF JOBLESS IN JEOPARDY." Another headline was: "The Bitter Face of Unemployment—Endless Lines of People Seeking Work." Not once is the relative smallness of today's unemployment mentioned, not once is it recalled that the percentage of unemployment today is far less than it was under the Roosevelt regime in the 'thirties and at certain times under Truman.

Capitol Hill remarks that this provides excellent fodder for the Russian propaganda machine to spray the world with a false picture of America and adds: "This is unquestionably one of the most effective jobs of selling the country down the Volga that has ever been seen in Washington." The Moscow press, UPI reported last week, has launched a new campaign—quoting American labor leaders' own words on US unemployment—to prove communism's economic superiority over capitalism.

No Business Like Show Business: The unemployment rally was not staged for the purpose of helping the jobless, but to provide a forum for Reuther, to sound off once again in his quest for national power. That's the conclusion of Washingtonians reviewing reports of the much-publicized gathering.

Time magazine caught the circus atmosphere which prevailed at the conference, with Reuther constantly in the center ring: *"Where's that Wide Wide World?" cried members of the Detroit contingent. "Where's Dave Garroway? He told us he was going to be here." Television's Garroway did not show, but NBC's Martin Agronsky was there, stage-managing United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther on to the footprints marked for him in chalk on the platform, marshaling a crowd behind Reuther* . . . (Significantly, "Reuther-for-President" leaflets were distributed among the assembled demonstrators.)

Not all of the delegates attending the meeting, it develops, represented the ranks of unemployed workers; some had to be drafted out of retirement to make a good show for Reuther's UAW. The *Peoria Journal* reported that one UAW local in that Illinois city sent 20 retired members on the march to Washington. A Brewery Workers local flatly notified its international headquarters that "delegates will have to come from Eastern locals where there is more unemployment." And a third union in Peoria was either unable, or too unconcerned, to send a representative.

● Columnist Henry Hazlitt, brushing past the demagogy of Reuther & Co., put a finger on the real source of unemployment ills. "Unemployment," he wrote last week, "is caused mainly by wage rates that have become excessive in relation to productivity or demand. The price of labor services is like the price of anything else. If it is too high in relation to demand, part of the supply will go unsold. The cure for a commodity is to reduce the price to the point where the entire supply can be sold. The cure in the case of labor is to reduce wage rates, in the lines where they are unworkable, to the levels where full employment can be resumed."

Labor Spending: The political action forces of organized labor acknowledge laying out at least $1.8 million to elect favored candidates last year—according to figures compiled, from official data, by *Congressional Quarterly*.

The tally offered by CQ reinforces the charge leveled recently by Senator Barry Goldwater: that the Democratic party is now just a shell, into which has crawled Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education.

For the labor bosses actually reported spending at least $100,000 more on campaigning—almost all of it in behalf of Democratic candidates—than did the Democratic organization itself! This is tacit admission that the Democratic party—at least as far as acknowledged spending is concerned—is now a labor union party.

● Election analysts stress the ambiguity hovering around the word "acknowledged," for it is an established fact that a number of Democratic candidates, employing the device of "Jones for Congress" committees, avoid filing the bulk of their campaign expenditures with the Clerk of the US House of Representatives (see HUMAN EVENTS' analysis of the cases of John Foley of Maryland and George McGovern of South Dakota, in its issues of December 15 and December 22, 1958). Thus the real extent of Democratic spending is many times the $1.7 million which the party admits having spent.

The labor figure is misleadingly low, too—and Capitol Hill estimates that the authentic total may range from ten to 30 times the admitted outlay. CQ notes: "The $1.8 million reported political spending is certainly just a fraction of what organized labor spent in the 1958 campaign. Very little of the political spending by state and local unions is included in this total. Some major unions—the Teamsters and the United Mine Workers, for example—did not report any political spending. Spokesmen for both unions told CQ all campaign expenditures are handled at the state or local level, where they do not have to be reported to the Clerk of the House."

Administered Prices: The gasbag of "administered prices" blew up in the face of Senator Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) last week. Kefauver has been trying to build up a case of monopoly and price-hiking against industry;

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but it was a labor union representative, interestingly enough, who punctured the "administered price" issue.

(The term "administered prices" has become a cliché among left-wingers in Congress, who charge that some big industries raise prices without regard to competitive considerations. Industry has regularly repudiated this accusation.)

The labor union man who turned against the left-wingers was Stanley Ruttenberg, economist of the AFL-CIO. Testifying before the House Government Operations subcommittee, Ruttenberg said: "Administered prices had very little to do with anything more than but three-fourths of one per cent of the total increase in the price index between 1955 and 1958."

This statement comes after highly publicized hearings conducted by the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee and other committees of the "liberal"-dominated Congress on the subject of "administered prices." Kefauver has led a band of members of Congress in proposing that the Federal Government hold hearings on projected price increases in big industries, with a view to applying public pressure against rising costs.

Ruttenberg's statement that administered prices had affected only .75 per cent of the total increase in prices in the past three years drew adverse reaction from Representative Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.), an old New Deal wheelhorse. Reuss expressed amazement at what he called the "belittling" of the "administered prices" theory by the AFL-CIO economist.

Foreign Aid: Senator John Marshall Butler (R.-Md.) last week offered this sidelight on proposals that America assume responsibility for elevating the world's "underdeveloped" nations into a semblance of Western industrialism: "To supply Asia with basic industrial equipment would cost about three times the US national income, or more than a trillion dollars; or to express the problem in another way, to give all Asians the same capital per worker as the Japanese were using prior to World War II would require 150 per cent of our national income, or nearly $450 billion."

In a similar vein, former foreign-aid Director John B. Hollister recently exploded the fallacy of US giveaways to "underdeveloped" pensioners like Nehru's India. The nations of the Middle and Far East, he said in an article for the Saturday Evening Post, *are not "capable of absorbing massive doses of industrial development. There is no point in increasing production capacity faster than demand can be generated and technological skills can be learned."*

Discussing the classic case of India's Marxist Five Year Plan, Hollister said:

"Although we were not consulted about the plan in advance, a number of leading 'liberals' in this country are demanding that the United States provide the necessary financing to make it a success. They don't ask whether or not the undertaking is sound. I concur in their desire to keep India a part of the free world, but I regard their advocacy of a massive plan of dubious worth as an advanced case of fiscal irresponsibility."

"A good banker," Hollister commented, "will not make a plant expansion loan to a company merely because it wants to double production. He will insist on knowing something about the market for the company's products, the ability of the officers and the probabilities of profit from the new facilities. ICA should be no less thorough and analytical in handling taxpayers' money."

Hoover on Taft: Outstanding feature of the dedication ceremony of the Robert A. Taft Memorial on Capitol Hill was the noble speech of former President Herbert Hoover. The 84-year old statesman related an anecdote of Taft's last days, as the Senator was dying of cancer. Taft, hobbling on crutches, was busy attending to Senate duties and brushed off Hoover's urgings that he go to the hospital.

"My friend," said Taft, "you know what is the matter with me. I know what is the matter with me. I am going to die with my boots on."

Hoover went on to pay tribute to the late Ohioan's intellectual and moral courage. "To the end he remained an outstanding leader of the Republican party. But his mind soared above the party. He regarded himself responsible to safeguard this Nation from the corrosive poisons that were a veritable fallout from the socialistic and communistic bombs being hurled upon this earth. These poisons not only came from Soviet Russia, but they also came from centers of irresponsible intellectualism which made a creed of change for no greater purpose than change. He became in the Senate a bulwark against those forces of reaction that would tear the United States into sects and cults of warring theorists. He brought to the social problems of his country a trained and practical mind.

"And so upon this hill, where long he served the American people, stands this monument not to his greatness but to his virtue. Who is great and who is small in a Republic? It hardly matters. What does matter is that the essential virtues among men and women which made this country strong, which built great cities and verdant farms out of a wilderness, which stand for moral principles in public life, be preserved by reminders of such men as Robert A. Taft. Fortunately, in the belfry of this monument there is a magnificent carillon. When these great bells ring out, it will be a summons to integrity and courage."

PAUL S. SMITH, President, Whittier College, Whittier, California: "I read every issue of HUMAN EVENTS, always with interest and profit. It supplies an indispensable balance in really critical thinking so essential to effective assessment of human events."

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Article Section I

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Where Communists Fear to Tread

Why the Reds Are Out to Get Trujillo

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

THE ONLY COUNTRY in the Western Hemisphere where communism has gained no foothold is the Dominican Republic. Ever since he first was elected president in 1930, tough Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo has been the *bête noire* and despair of Red schemers. Each succeeding Communist plot to "liberate" the 2.6 million "unhappy" Dominicans has dismally flopped.

But informed anti-Communists expect another early attempt, what with "progressive" elements in charge in Cuba and Venezuela under such veteran leftists as Fidel Castro and Romulo Betancourt. It is ominous that Costa Rica's erstwhile President, Jose Figueres, close pal of Betancourt and avowed enemy of Trujillo, has set up headquarters in Havana.

Every horrendous epithet in the Communist vocabulary has been tossed at the Generalissimo. He has been dubbed dictator, torturer, murderer and assassin, and charged with liquidating numerous opponents at home and abroad. The "liberal" press and radio have castigated him as the arch-enemy of democracy and freedom, and accused him of smearing every opponent as a Communist. Still the Dominican Republic remains free of Reds, and this is indeed a rare achievement in a world where Communists are ubiquitous.

Indisputably, Trujillo has been a tough *hombre* and probably engineered the sudden demise of many of his more obnoxious enemies at home and abroad. As much as this sort of thing is decried by freedom-loving North Americans, history attests that it is a common practice in Latin America, to say nothing of many other lands across the seas.

Trujillo has not been without provocation. Appropriately enough, two Russians originally brought the Marxian gospel to the country in the early Thirties, leaving a group of natives to carry on when they left. These youngsters assembled a coterie of kindred souls, and in a short time there were explosions and fires traced to this group. Then a plot was uncovered to assassinate the Governor of Santiago and "The Benefactor" himself. That did it. The conspirators were rounded up, tried, and sentenced on July 27, 1935; later they were magnanimously pardoned.

The Dominican Congress on October 20, 1936, passed an unprecedentedly tough anti-Communist law providing a sentence of from three months to two years with a fine of from 50 to 500 pesos for anyone teaching, speaking, publishing or circulating Communist or anarchist doctrines, or commenting favorably on such practices or activities elsewhere.

This was bad news for those dedicated to turning the Caribbean into a Red lake. Coming at a time when the Popular Front epidemic was hornswoggling the West, this marked Trujillo for sudden death in the Communist book. This law was revoked by President Manuel de Jesus Troncoso after the Republic declared war against the Axis Powers and Soviet Russia incongruously became the West's ally —and the Reds never forgot.

Meanwhile, filled with compassion for the swarm of Spanish Loyalist refugees languishing in Southern French camps, the Dominican Government admitted over 7,000 without passports, between April, 1939 and November, 1940.

The Soviet commissars who "volunteered" to aid the Spanish Republican Army had trained their charges well in Marxist, if not in military tactics; so the Spanish refugees in the Dominican Republic lost no time in forming some 20 Spanish Democratic Centres. They industriously carried on pro-Communist and anti-Franco propaganda.

A mixed Spanish-Dominican theater group staged revolutionary plays. Red Spanish professors infiltrated the University faculty. So-called cultural, social and recreational groups, scattered over the country, mainly devoted their efforts to extolling the Soviet Union. These were abruptly squelched on April 8, 1943, by Government decree.

CAME MAY, 1945, and with it the Third Congress of Dominican Youth at Trujillo City. Delegates swarmed in from all Latin America. Communist "literature" was widely circulated and lampoons of Trujillo appeared on walls and lampposts. The police cracked down, and arrests and deportations followed.

Meanwhile, Blas Roca of the Cuban Popular Socialist Party, and his colleague, Lazaro Pena, Stalin's chief Negro Caribbean Commissar, laid plans to infiltrate the Dominican labor unions in the hope of fomenting strikes and perhaps toppling the Government. Agitators were sent in, and their efforts bore fruit on February 28, 1946, with a general strike of sugar refinery workers in the eastern district. The alert Trujillo police rushed to every refinery, along with labor mediators, and the difficulties disappeared—and mayhap some of the leaders.

After a long series of subversive acts climaxed by Communist-instigated riots, where club-wielding bullies wearing Red arm bands functioned according to Moscow, the Government had had enough. On June 8, 1947, the National Congress passed a

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law disqualifying all Communist groups "and others of the same anti-democratic tendencies from forming legal parties."

This convinced the Communists that the Dominican regime must be ousted by force, and preparations began for the New World's first Red *putsch.* The front men were Presidents Ramon Grau San Martin of Cuba, Juan Jose Arevalo of Guatemala, and Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela. From their public treasuries, they bankrolled the expeditionary force of 1,800 dissolute adventurers, which was promptly called the International Brigade, after its Spanish predecessor. Twenty-eight airplanes, automatic rifles, 65 mm. cannon, machine guns, ammunition and eight torpedo boats were assembled. Over 3,000 steel helmets were flown into Havana from Puerto Rico. Lolling around Havana's Sevilla-Biltmore Hotel awaited Cuban, Canadian and American fliers and their mechanics—ready for *Der Tag.*

The invasion, scheduled for September, 1947, failed to come off only because of Dominican alertness, the Government's internationally broadcast screams of protest, and appeals to the Organization of American States. Reluctantly President Grau called off the deal.

Undeterred by this setback, another invasion was engineered by Guatemala's Communist President, Jacobo Arbenz, and planned for June 19, 1949. It was to be spearheaded by three heavily armed airplanes taking off from Costa Rican territory, where the Caribbean Legion was based. The Legion consisted of remnants of the erstwhile International Brigade plus adventurers looking for loot. Although he was in exile conveniently nearby, there is no evidence that Romulo Betancourt helped in the planning. (Betancourt, in the 1930's, had written to San Jose's *La Hora*: "I am and I shall be a Communist," and had organized the Communist Party in Costa Rica and in Colombia.)

Unhappily for them, the conspirators reckoned without a sudden and unforeseen hurricane which forced two of the three armed planes to land in Cuba. The third landed on Luperon Bay in the Dominican Republic, and the armed invaders splashed ashore shouting they had come to "liberate" the Dominicans. Unconvinced, the "oppressed" natives killed some and captured the others stampeding to sanctuary in Haiti. All confessed their guilt and were released.

HOW DOES TRUJILLO remain when so many other Latin strong men have gone? The Communists and "liberals" attribute this to a perpetual campaign of terror. However, those who contrast the Republic's present prosperity with the 80 years of anarchy and bankruptcy preceding Trujillo's 1930 election think differently.

Much smaller than West Virginia, the Republic today has neither external nor internal debt, has annual exports of $148 million and imports of $113 million, an 8-hour day and 48-hour week, no night work for women, laws against child labor, regulated labor unions, two-week vacations with pay, graduated separation pay, special Christmas bonuses, and workers' housing at $14 monthly.

Everywhere one sees good roads and steel bridges, hydro electric plants, numerous hospitals, clinics and public markets, neat model towns, and as many industries as in nearby Puerto Rico, without any of that island's help from the United States. Conspicuous are the 4,500 schools, enrolling 16 per cent of the population, children and adults, in a population of 2.7 million; the 12,000 special adult anti-illiteracy classes which in 1957 taught 88,000 to read and write, and reduced illiteracy to 30 per cent. This is a record crash program in Latin America.

Impressive is the death rate of just nine per 1,000 and the birth rate of 52 per 1,000, the pure drinking water, the ample food supply, the stores packed with goods and produce, the good physical appearance of the people, and the virtual absence of the tropical diseases endemic in neighboring lands. One notices also an apparent absence of color discrimination.

In brief, despite Trujillo's concededly rough treatment of his opponents, it would seem that he has remained in the saddle because he has provided the Dominicans the kind of life which the Communists everywhere promise but never deliver. No realist believes that the Generalissimo or his brother, President Hector B. Trujillo Molina, is angelic, completely selfless or allergic to nepotism and ostentatious display. Quite the contrary. But the Dominicans are not unhappy about it, and no Communists disturb the even tenor of their way.

World communism is again preparing to "rescue" the Dominicans from oppression. Fidel Castro's handpicked provisional president, Manuel Urrutia, had scarcely been sworn in before he attacked the "dictators" of Paraguay, Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Although President Betancourt of Venezuela is busy trying to avert an officer coup, he will probably lend cash and sympathy, as in the past, to any Red invasion of Santo Domingo. Senor Castro, a veteran of both the 1948 Red Bogota shambles and the abortive 1949 Caribbean Legion, has, ominously, taken control of the Cuban armed forces. He may want to repay his debt to his Venezuelan friend for the 4,000 rifles, 200 machine guns and appropriate ammunition sent to him from Caracas in his hour of need. A nondescript little army is being drilled right now in Oriente Province for an invasion of Haiti, 50 miles away.

Meantime, Dominicans are eating high on the hog, but few Communists or fellow travelers are panting to join them as long as Trujillo is around.

George S. Schuyler is a famous Negro journalist. He is the Associate Editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier*, America's largest weekly Negro newspaper.

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Article Section II

You Should Be a Politician

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The Precinct: Key to Political Success

By JOSEPH J. ELEY *and* F. CLIFTON WHITE

Politics is the practical exercise of self-government, and somebody must attend to it if we are to have self-government. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician.—Elihu Root.

LESS THAN 25 per cent of the electorate determine —through the processes of conventions, caucuses and primary elections—the alternatives which the electorate shall have. An even smaller percentage makes a majority of the fundamental decisions through work in the political party process.

In reality the American political process is dominated by an aristocracy of self-appointed people. The aristocracy is composed of those who work at politics, day in day out, year in year out. The public officeholders are an important and substantial bloc of the aristocracy, but the majority of the "self-appointed" are not officeholders in government but are instead the precinct, ward, district and county workers of the political parties.

Converging circumstances today demand that Americans begin to express themselves in political affairs if any semblance of the independent spirit remains. There can be no serious doubt in the student's mind that in the coming days we will be asked to choose between the capitalist economic system and socialism. The choice will be made within the structure of our political party system.

Some people avoid political participation because they think that political parties are closed organizations. The truth is that political parties are public bodies; their existence and general mode of operation are prescribed in state law. Most states publish or cause to be published those statutes which determine the legal base of the political parties, the manner in which party officers are selected and the methods of conducting elections.

In states in which the electoral statutes are codified and published separately from the general code, a copy may usually be obtained from the State Attorney General or Secretary of State. The individual who proposes to be an effective citizen should be conversant with the legalities of politics in his state by familiarizing himself with the code.

He should also be familiar with the by-laws of his party. Most state codes first stipulate the legal base for the political parties and then vest in the parties the right to formulate rules for their own operations. County Committee by-laws are not always easy to obtain, but somewhere in the party structure there is an individual who has possession of the rules. In most cases, the rules are filed with the County Clerk, giving them quasi-official status. There are some cases—Georgia, for example—in which the by-laws of the political party appear to be of more significance than the code, in that the by-laws are much more detailed.

Once the individual has familiarized himself with the code and by-laws, he should determine the structure and operations of his party at the county and sub-county levels. He should find out how party leadership in the precinct or election district (or whatever it is called in the particular state) is selected, how ward or town leaders are chosen.

THE BASIC UNIT of the political parties' operations is the precinct or election district. The terms are synonymous. In either case, precinct or district, the focal point is a polling place surrounded by a geographical area containing a specific number of voters prescribed by state law and ranging from 300 to 1200. The national average size precinct is 600 voters. The size of the precinct has been largely determined by practical circumstances; how many voters can conveniently vote in the prescribed time in the polling place.

Each political party attempts to have an individual in the precinct to act as the party leader in that neighborhood. The principal job of the precinct leader, who is known sometimes as a precinct captain, district captain or committeeman, is to register the voters of his party and get his party's vote to the polls on election day.

He is, in almost all cases, the representative of his party's voters in his precinct on the County Committee. In addition, in major cities, he is a member of the Town Committee. If he has organized his precinct properly and maintains communications with his constituency, he has a surprising degree of power. He can have considerable impact on the party councils, especially if he consistently "carries" his precinct for the party.

Precinct leaders are selected by different processes, determined by the Election Code or party by-laws. In New Jersey and many other states, the precinct leader is elected in a primary election for a prescribed term of office. In Texas, among other states, the precinct leader is elected in a precinct caucus. Still a third method, used in Virginia, for example, has the precinct leader appointed by the City or County Chairman, who is elected in a mass meeting.

After the precinct—on the table of organization

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of the political party—each level upward is related to a unit of government; that is, officers of government are elected from each. The formalized party structure runs from the precinct through the ward, town or city to the county level, thence to the state and finally to the national level. At each of these levels, there is usually an individual or group of individuals working at the job of politics. To those levels of party organization noted above must be added others depending on the governmental structure of the particular state. There are usually Congressional District organizations; sometimes state senatorial, legislative or judicial district organizations.

THE ORGANIZATION of the parties is determined by practical circumstances; where there is someone to be elected to public office, there must be people to support the various candidates in circulating nominating petitions, transmitting to the voters the reasons for electing a ticket or a candidate, registering and getting the voters to the polls.

The County Committee is the backbone of American politics. At the risk of generalizing, the County Chairmen, as an aggregate, represent the most potent political force in politics. The Chairman has a voice in the selection of county judges, sheriffs, supervisors or commissioners, legislators, state senators and Congressmen. He is influential in the selection of delegates to conventions. He will be sought out by candidates for Governor, Senator and even President.

His primary function, though not completely official, is to find candidates for the various offices and coordinate the organization's efforts behind those candidates and his party generally.

The County Chairman obtains his job in a variety of ways. He may be elected by the County Committee, which represents the various precincts or districts of the county. He may be elected in a County Convention or, as in a few cases, he may be elected in a primary election. State election codes generally spell out the procedure through which the County Chairman and other officers of the party at the county level are selected. The method for the formulation of the State Committee or Committees and the selection of State Chairmen can be determined also by consulting the election code and the by-laws of the particular party in which the individual is interested.

With this basic structure in mind, you may be interested in some do's and don'ts that might prove of use to those going into politics:

Determine which party is most acceptable to you. Don't expect either party to reflect your philosophy perfectly, but choose the one in your locality which stands most for the things you feel are right.

● Register and identify yourself as a member of the party.

● *Study the election code of your state, particularly those sections which apply to the formation and operations of the party.*

● Vote in primary elections, attend precinct caucuses and town, city and county meetings of the party.

● *Speak up—when you know what you are talking about. When you speak, be guided by the facts and not by anger.*

● Don't talk too much. Remember, many people think the wisest man is the man who listens to their ideas.

● *If the leadership of your political party generally reflects your thinking and is honest and efficient, support it to keep it that way.*

● Don't buck the "organization" unless you have enough votes to defeat it. If the party leadership isn't what you think it should be, build up your faction's strength before you engage in a contest for leadership.

● *Don't be arbitrary or rigid in your thinking; this doesn't mean that you should compromise principles. There are many ways to climb a mountain. Find a way acceptable to the majority to achieve your objectives and implement your principles.*

● Don't forget the stake you have in politics. From such prosaic matters as garbage collection to weighty problems of foreign affairs the influence of politics is extremely important. Taxes, schools, zoning, traffic control, highways, the economic system, all are within the purview of the politician.

Decisions on these and many other matters are subject to your influence, first as a voter, second as an individual with the ability to influence others. You will either contribute to making these decisions or someone will do it for you. History indicates that free societies inevitably collapse when the people permit "others" to make their decisions, for the decision-maker quickly realizes that his responsibility to make decisions gives him control.

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